

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, YO

SUBJECT: NATO INTERNATIONAL STAFF PAPER ON YUGOSLAVIA

REF: USNATO 3415

1. DEPARTMENT FINDS REVISED DRAFT A MAJOR IMPROVEME
OVER EARLIER EFFORT AND CONCURS IN ITS PRINCIPAL CON-
CLUSIONS. SUGGESTED AMENDMENTS FOLLOW:

2. PARAGRAPH 1 STILL DISTORTS KNOWN FACTS AND THE
FOLLOWING IS SUGGESTED AS A MORE ACCURATE RENDIT ON:
"THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS ADOPTED IN JULY 1971 WERE
REGARDED AS AN IMPORTANT MILESTONE ON THE ROAD TO THE
CREATION OF A GENUINE FEDERALISM IN YUGO9LAVIA THAT HAD
BEEN IN PROCESS OF EVOLUTION SINCE THE 1950'S. THE
CHANGES, INCLUDING CREATION OF THE PRESIDENCY OF THE
SFRY, WERE INTENDED TO PUT AN END TO THE DISPUS-REPHICH
HAD TRADITIONALLY FLARED UP BETWEEN THE VARIOUS REPUBLICS

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AND NATIONALITIES, PARTICULARLY WHEN THEIFORMONOMIC

INTERESTS WERE AT STAKE. HOWEVER, THE REFORMED FEDERAL MACHINERY DESIGNED TO PERMIT CONCERTED ACTION FAILED TO WORK AS PLANNED AND THERE WAS VIRTUAL PARALYSIS IN DECISION-MAKING ON IMPORTANT ISSUES IN THE TOP FEDERAL GOVERNMENTAL BODIES. THE SITUATION WAS CHARACTERIZED BY RESURGENT NATIONALISM, TENDENCIES TOWARD REPUBLIC AUTARKY AND SEPARATISM, AND AN ATMOSPHERE OF EUPHORIA AND

LICENSE IN WHICH EXTREMES OF SPEECH AND ACTION THREATENED THE VIABILITY OF THE YUGOSLAV FEDERATION. DESPITE TITO'S REPEATED INJUNCTIONS, THE PARTY BECAME FEDERALIZED INTO SIX REPUBLIC PARTIES AND ITS AUTHORITY CONTINUED TO RECEDE, WHILE IMPORTANT NON-PARTY ELEMENTS CAME TO BELIEVE THAT THE COUNTRY COULD DO WELL WITHOUT THE DIRECTIONS OR EVEN THE EXISTENCE OF THE PARTY. BY LATE 1972 TITO HAD LITTLE ALTERNATIVE BUT TO MAKE A RADICAL POLITICAL CHANGE IN ORDER TO PUT THE FEDERAL PARTY BACK IN THE SADDLE AS A PROTECTOR OF SOCIALISM AND NATIONAL COHESION IN YUGOSLAVIA, PARTICULARLY IN THE POST-TITO ERA."

3. PARAGRAPH 2: TO ADJUST CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE, SUBSTITUTE FOLLOWING FOR EXISTING FIRST SENTENCE: "FOLLOWING THE PURGE OF THE CROAT PARTY LEADERSHIP IN DECEMBER 1971, AND THE ADOPTION BY THE SECOND LCY CONFERENCE IN JANUARY 1972 OF THE ACTION PROGRAM, WHICH WAS SUBSEQUENTLY LARGELY DISREGARDED, PRESIDENT TITO AND THE EXECUTIVE BUREAU ON OCTOBER 18, 1972 PUBLICIZED A LETTER TO ALL PARTY MEMBERS. THIS LETTER FORMALLY TRIGGERED A CAMPAIGN TO ENFORCE DISCIPLINE IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF 'DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM'".

4. PARAGRAPH 3: FOR SAME REASON AND TO ADJUST FACTUALLY, DROP FIRST THREE SENTENCES AND SUBSTITUTE FOLLOWING: "FOLLOWING THE DISMISSAL OF THE CROAT PARTY LEADERSHIP FOR NATIONALISM, TWO TOP SERBIAN PARTY LEADERS WERE FORCED TO RESIGN IN OCTOBER 1972 FOR BEING TOO "LIBERAL". SUBSEQUENT PURGES FOCUSED MAINLY ON SLOVENIA, THE VOJVODINA, AND THE BELGRADE CITY PARTY ORGANIZATION, AFFECTING A BEVY OF PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS." N.B. THE CONFIDENTIAL

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SLOVENE PARTY WAS NOT RPT NOT "DECAPITATED"; FRANC POPIT HAS BEEN PRESIDENT OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SLOVENE PARTY SINCE DECEMBER 1968.

5. PARAGRAPH 4: TO CORRECT OVERSTATEMENT, ADJUST MIDDLE OF THIRD SENTENCE AS FOLLOWS: "MARXISM, NOT AMONG COMPULSORY COURSES IN SCHOOLS SINCE THE 1950'S IS NOW BEING REINTRODUCED." WE ALSO BELIEVE EXPRESSIONS SUCH AS

"BRING BACK PURE MARXISM" AND THE PRESS'S "RETURN TO CONFORMITY" ARE OVERDRAWN AND SUSCEPTIBLE OF MISINTERPRETATION.

6. PARAGRAPH 20: SUGGEST DROPPING SECOND SENTENCE AS OF DOUBTFUL VALIDITY.

7. AMBASSADOR TOON CONCURS IN ABOVE. EMBASSY BELGRADE MAY HAVE FURTHER COMMENTS. KISSINGER

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